

Message Text

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ACTION ARA-20

INFO OCT-01 AF-10 EUR-25 ISO-00 IO-14 CIAE-00 DODE-00

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R 251640Z JUL 74

FM AMEMBASSY BRASILIA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4679

INFO AMEMBASSY DAKAR

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMCONSUL PORTO ALEGRE BY POUCH

AMCONSUL BELEM BY POUCH

AMCONSUL RIO DE JANEIRO

AMCONSUL RECIFE BY POUCH

AMCONSUL SALVADOR BY POUCH

AMCONSUL SAO PAULO

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E.O.11652: N/A

TAGS: PFOR, BR, PO

SUBJECT: CHILL IN BRAZILIAN/PORTUGUESE RELATIONS

REF: BRASILIA 5392

SUMMARY: MAJOR BRAZILIAN JOURNALS, DRAWING ON OFFICIAL SOURCES, HAVE ASCRIBED BRAZILIAN RECOGNITION OF GUINEA-BISSAU, AT LEAST IN PART, TOPACK OF COMMUNICATION WITH PORTUGAL. THIS ILLUSTRATES HAT APPEARS TO BE A SHARP SEPARATION BETWEEN THE TWO GOVERNMENTS AND APPEARS TO HAVE LED BRAZIL TO A POLICY OF OPPORTUNISM IN REGARD TO THE AFRICAN TERRITORIES. END SUMMARY.

1. THE PRESTIGIOUS O ESTADO DE SAO PAULO, IN TWO ARTICLES

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APPEARING JULY 20, GAVE WHAT SEEM TO BE AUTHORITATIVE

ACCOUNTS OF THE ATTITUDES OF BOTH PORTUGAL AND BRAZIL WHICH LED TO THE CURRENT CHILL IN THE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE TWO OVER THE STATUS OF PORTUGAL'S AFRICAN TERRITORIES. THE FIRST ARTICLE, BY LISBON CORRESPONDENT HERMANO ALVES, IS HEADLINED "LISBON GOVERNMENT OFFENDED (MAGOADO) BY THE ITAMARATY DECISION," AND APPEARS TO DRAW ON OFFICIAL SOURCES. ALVES RELATES THAT THE BRAZILIAN DECISION TO RECOGNIZE GUINEA-BISSAU CAUSED GREAT SURPRISE IN THE LISBON GOVERNMENT, QUOTING A HIGHLY-PLACED OFFICIAL AT THE BELEM PALACE TO THE EFFECT THAT SPINOLA WAS OFFENDED BY THE BRAZILIAN ATTITUDE, AND A SOURCE AT THE FOREIGN MINISTRY TO THE EFFECT THAT THE BRAZILIAN ACTION WAS "UNFRIENDLY." ALVES MAKES CLEAR THAT BOTH SOURCES STRESSED THAT THE OFFENSE WAS NOT SO MUCH IN THE BRAZILIAN ACTION AS IN BRAZIL'S FAILURE TO GIVE LISBON PRIOR NOTIFICATION OF IT. ALVES NOTES THAT THE SCANDINAVIAN COUNTRIES DID GIVE PRIOR NOTICE TO PORTUGAL BEFORE EXTENDING RECOGNITION TO GUINEA-BISSAU, AND ASKS, "DOES THE TREATY OF FRIENDSHIP AND CONSULTATION STILL EXIST BETWEEN PORTUGAL AND BRAZIL?"

2. ALVES REFERS TO BRAZILIAN AMBASSADOR FONTOURA'S "DIS-AGREEABLE TASK" OF NOTIFYING FOREIGN MINISTER SOARES OF THE BRAZILIAN DECISION AFTER IT HAD ALREADY BEEN FEATURED IN THE LISBON PRESS, AND DESCRIBES THE REACTION OF PORTUGUESE OFFICIALDOM AS BEING THAT THE TREATY OF CONSULTATIONS IS "A DEAD LETTER." ALVES THEN, OBVIOUSLY DRAWING ON OFFICIAL LISBON SOURCES, DESCRIBES HOW "DIPLOMATIC CONTENTION" DREW BETWEEN BRAZIL AND PORTUGAL SINCE LAST APRIL 25. HE CLAIMS THAT SPINOLA AT THAT TIME EXPRESSED A STRONG DESIRE THAT BRAZIL WITHDRAW THE AMBASSADORIAL NOMINATION OF GENERAL FONTOURA, WHICH WAS APPROVED BY THE CAETANO GOVERNMENT, BUT THAT SPINOLA FINALLY ACCEPTED FONTOURA IN THE FACE OF BRAZILIAN "INTRANSIGENCE." THE NEXT POINT OF IRRITATION, ACCORDING TO ALVES, AROSE WHEN FONTOURA DELIVERED TO SOARES, ON THE EVE OF HIS DEPARTURE FOR THE LONDON NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE PAIGC, A NOTE FROM THE OAU SUGGESTING BRAZILIAN MEDIATION IN THE NEGOTIATIONS, A SUGGESTION THAT PORTUGAL IGNORED. FINALLY, ALVES CONTINUES, WITH THE "TRANSMISSION OF POWERS" IN GUINEA GUARANTEED TO BE ACCOMPLISHED BEFORE SEPTEMBER, BRAZIL RECOGNIZED "THE PAIGC GOVERNMENT" WITHOUT LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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EVEN PRIOR NOTICE TO PORTUGAL.

3. ALVES REPORTS THAT SPINOLA, ON JULY 19, RELATED TO HIS ADVISERS THAT HE HAD TAKEN THE INITIATIVE IN DEVELOPING COURTEOUS RELATIONS WITH BRAZIL BY SENDING GENERAL GALVAO DE MAELO AND MAJOR VITOR ALVES TO BRAZIL, AND HAD ALLOWED GALVAO TO EULOGIZE BRAZIL ON NATIONAL TV AFTER HIS RETURN TO PORTUGAL "IN SPITE OF CRITICISM FROM THE LEFT." BECAUSE

OF THIS, ALVES CONTINUES , SPINOLA WAS SHOCKED BY THE BRAZILIAN "COMMUNICATION OF A CONSUMMATED FACT." ALVES WRITES, "THE GENERAL OPINION (AND IT CAN BE CALLED NOTHING ELSE) HOLDS THAT THE ITAMARATY IS USELESSLY INSISTING ON DEVELOPING AN AFRICAN POLICY AT PORTUGAL'S EXPENSE, AT THE VERY HOUR AT WHICH THE DECOLONIZATION PROCESS IS MOVING FORWARD. THE RECOGNITIONOF GUINEA-BISSAU FORETELLS THE OPENING OF A PRECEDENT FOR BRAZILIAN DIPLIMATIC ACTIONS OF WHATEVER SORT IN RELATION TO ANGOLA AND MOZAMBIQUE-- ABOVEALL BECAUSE OF PETROLIUM, NON-FERROUS METALS, INDUSTRIAL DIAMONDS AND A MARKET FOR THE ABSORPTIONOF INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTS. WHETHER OR NOT THIS VERSION IS TRUE, THE FACT IS THAT THERE IS A CLIMATE OF DISTRUST IN PORTUGAL IN RELATION TO BRAZILIAN MOTIVES."

4. THE ACCOMPANYING ARTICLE, DATELINED BRAZILIAN AND ALSO DRAWING ON OFFICIAL SOURCES, GIVES A DIFFERENT PICTURE OF EVENTS. QUOTING FOREIGN MINISTRY SOURCES, THE ARTICLE CLAIMS THAT BRAZILIAN RECOGNITION OF GUINEA-BISSAU BEFORE THE GRANTING OF ITS INDEPENDENCE "CAN GIVE A STIMULATING EFFECT ONTHE LISBON-BRASILIA DIALOGUE, WHICH HAS REMAINED IN A STATE OF APPARENT COOLNESS, IN SPITE OF BRAZILIAN INITIATIVES TO MAINTAIN THE TRADITIONAL FRIENDSHIP BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES." THE ARTICLE STATES THAT BRAZILIAN RECOGNITION WAS GRANTED AFTER LISBON HAD FAILED TO RESPOND TO THE COMMUNICATION TRANSMITTING THE OAU REQUEST FOR BRAZILIAN INFLUENCE ON PORTUGAL IN RELATION TO THE FUTURE OF THE AFRICAN TERRITORIES. THE ARTICLE MAINTAINS THAT PORTUGAL FOLLOWED AN ATTITUDE OF "SILENCE AND SEPARATION" FROM BRAZIL AND AFRICAN MATTERS IN SPITE OF THE FACT THAT BRAZIL'S ANTI-COLONIALIST POSITION WAS SUBORDINATED IN THE PAST TO ITS STRONG TIES OF FRIENDSHIP WITH PORTUGAL, WHICH NOT ONLY COST BRAZIL VOTES IN THE UN ON VITAL ISSUES, BUT LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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ALSO ENDANGERED ITS POSITION WITH PETROLEUM SUPPLIERS. AFTER THE LISBON COUP, THE ARTICLE CONTINUES, BRAZIL RECOGNIZED THE NEW GOVERNMENT " IN THE DARK" AND ALSO ACCEPTED THE POLIITICALLY DANGEROUS REQUEST OF PORTUGAL FOR THE EXILE OF AMERICO THOMAZ AND MARCELLO CAETANO, BOTH GESTURES INTENDED TO MAINTAIN THE "SPECIAL TIES" BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES. UNFORTUNATELY, THE ARTICLE LAMENTS, PORTUGAL THEN TURNED TOWARD EUROPE POLITICALLY, RESERVING FOR BRAZIL ONLY THE POLITICALLY INSIGNIFICANT GALVAO DE MELO VISIT, WHILE FOREIGN MINISTER SOARES PUBLICLY SOUGHT TO LIMIT THE TIES BETWEEN PORTUGAL AND BRAZIL TO THOSE OF CULTURAL AFFINITY: MEANWHILE AFRICA AWAITED A "CONSTRUCTIVE GESTURE" FROM BRAZIL ON DECOLONIZATION.

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5. THUS, THE ARTICLE CONTINUES, WHEN THE NEWS OF THE IMMINENT CONCESSION OF INDEPENDENCE TO GUINEA-BISSAU REACHED BRASILIA LAST LAST WEEK, BRAZIL "RAN THE RISK OF GETTING TO GUINEA AFTER PORTUGAL," AND COULD NO LONGER AWAIT A PORTUGUESE RESPONSE ON THE OAU REQUEST. WITH THE RECOGNITION OF GUINEA-BISSAU AS A "SISTER NATION," THE ARTICLE GOES ON, BRAZIL MADE CLEAR THAT THIS IS THE ATTITUDE IT WILL ALSO ADOPT IN RELATION TO ANGOLA AND MOZAMBIQUE. PORTUGAL WAS INFORMED IN ADVANCE OF THE BRAZILIAN ACTION, THE ARTICLE CONCLUDES.

6. OTHER PROMINENT PRESS FEATURES GENERALLY FOLLOW THE BRAZILIAN LINE SET OUT IN THE ARTICLE DESCRIBED ABOVE, BUT SOME OFFERED ADDITIONAL NUANCES. THE WELL-CONNECTED JORNAL DO BRASIL, FOR INSTANCE, EXPRESSES THE BELIEF

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OF BRAZILIAN DIPLOMATS THAT THE BRAZILIAN ACTION WILL HAVE "A DECISIVE INFLUENCE" ON THE NEW GOVERNMENT OF PORTUGAL FOR PROMPT SETTLEMENT OF THE GUINEA-BISSAU ISSUE. THE JORNAL NOTES THAT "...CERTAIN ELEMENTS IN THE DECISION-MAKING SPHERE IN BRASILIA SEEK TO IDENTIFY IN THE SOCIALIST BACKGROUND OF MARIO SOARES OR IN THE COMMUNIST CONVICTIONS OF ALVARO CUNHAL THE SOURCE OF LISBON'S RESISTANCE TO A MORE ACTIVE PARTICIPATION BY BRAZIL IN THE DECOLONIZATION PROBLEM..." BUT ASSERTS THAT SOARES' ADVISERS ARE PRO-BRAZILIAN. THE ARTICLE STATES THAT THE DECISION TO RECOGNIZE GUINEA-BISSAU WAS MADE PERSONALLY BY PRESIDENT GEISEL AND IS "IRREVERSIBLE." THE LIBERAL JORNAL DE BRASILIA, REFERRING TO A HIGH GOVERNMENT SOURCE, ATTRIBUTES THE RECOGNITION TO BRAZILIAN "DISSATISFACTION WITH THE COLDNESS AND DISTANCE WITH WHICH IT IS BEING TREATED BY LISBON," AND STATES FLATLY THAT THE BRAZILIAN DECISION "WAS ONLY COMMUNICATED TO LISBON AFTER THE FACT AND ONLY AS A COURTESY."

7. THESE ARTICLES WERE FOLLOWED ON JULY 22 BY A DISPATCH FROM JORNAL DO BRASIL'S LISBON CORRESPONDENT AREUJO NETTO TO THE EFFECT THAT PORTUGAL'S COUNCIL OF STATE HAD APPROVED INDEPENDENCE LEGISLATION FOR GUINEA-BISSAU, AND ON JULY 23 BY AN AP DISPATCH, WHICH RECEIVED VERY LITTLE PLAY, FLATLY DENYING THE NETTO STORY.

8. COMMENT: IT APPEARS THAT BRAZILIAN RECOGNITION OF GUINEA-BISSAU WAS, IN FACT, PRECIPITATED BY NEWS OF AN "IMMINENT" PORTUGUESE CONCESSION OF INDEPENDENCE TO THAT TERRITORY. WE ARE INFORMED THAT THE SENEGALESE AMBASSADOR TO BRAZIL CARRIED A MESSAGE FROM PRESIDENT SENGHOR TO FOREIGN MINISTER SILVEIRA ON JULY 15 CALLING FOR RECOGNITION OF GUINEA-BISSAU AND WAS GIVEN A DISCOURAGING RESPONSE. THE ANNOUNCEMENT OF RECOGNITION ON THE 18TH SURPRISED THE SENEGALESE AMBASSADOR AS MUCH AS ANYONE ELSE AND THE INCIDENT LENDS WEIGHT TO THE PRESS ACCOUNT IN PARA 5 ABOVE.

9. WE BELIEVE THAT BRAZIL'S CAREFULLY CALCULATED PLAN FOR DEALING WITH THE CAETANO GOVERNMENT ON THE ISSUE OF THE AFRICAN TERRITORIES--A SERIES OF INCREMENTAL ACTION DESIGNED TO MAINTAIN THE CONFIDENCE OF THE AFRICANS

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AND KEEP A CHANNEL OPEN TO LISBON FOR AN EVENTUAL BRAZILIAN ROLE AS A MEDIATOR BETWEEN THE TWO--WAS DEMOLISHED BY THE APRIL 25 COUP IN LISBON AND SUBSEQUENT EVENTS. WHEN IT

BECAME CLEAR THAT PORTUGAL WAS PREPARED TO NEGOTIATE DIRECTLY WITH LEADERS OF THE PAIGC, NEITHER PORTUGAL NOR THE OAU HAD ANY FURTHER NEED--FOR THE MOMENT, AT LEAST--FOR BRAZILIAN MEDIATION, AND BRAZIL'S ATTEMPT TO INJECT ITSELF INTO THE SITUATION BY MEANS OF THE OAU NOTE (BRASILIA 4061) WAS COLDLY RECEIVED. BRAZIL THUS FINDS ITSELF WITHOUT A ROLE IN THE CURRENT NEGOTIATIONS AND IS FORCED BACK UPON UNILATERAL AND, GENERALLY, OPPURTUNISTIC ACTION TO STAY IN THE GAME. WE BELIEVE THE BRAZILIAN OBJECTIVE IS TO KEEP ITS HEAD ABOVE WATER WITH THE AFRICANS WHILE AWAITING A TURN IN EVENTS--A STALEMATE IN THE NEGOTIATIONS, OR, PERHAPS, A CHANGE IN GOVERNMENT IN LISBON--THAT MIGHT RESTORE TO IT THE ROLE IT SEEKS. IN ORDER TO DO THIS, BRAZIL APPEARS READY TO DAMAGE ITS "SPECIAL TIES" WITH LISBON, AT LEAST SO LONG AS THE PRESENT PORTUGUESE GOVERNMENT, WITH WHICH THE GEISEL GOVERNMENT APPEARS TO FEEL UNCOMFORTABLE, PREVAILS. THESE TIES, IN ANY CASE, SEEM NOT TO HAVE BEEN STRONGLY FELT IN LISBON IN RECENT WEEKS, AND IT IS APPARENT THAT BRAZIL'S POLICY OF "RESPONSIBLE PRAGMATISM" FINDS THE POTENTIAL MEDIATING ROLE OVERTAKEN BY EVENTS AND THE "SPECIAL TIES" DIMINISHED BY THEM.

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